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ABSTRACT

A Future Teachers' Autobiography Club discussion group/research project invited six elementary teacher candidates to read, write about, and discuss ethnic autobiography in order to foster and investigate the potential of peer discussion in teacher learning. Using a selected list of six autobiographies, the researcher hosted monthly dinner meetings. She documented the Club by writing field notes, reading and corresponding with the members in sketchbooks recording thoughts about the books and discussion, analyzing audio tapes and transcripts of the meetings, and debriefing each member in an interview near the end of the study. Analysis suggested that text-related talk without the stage management of a "teacher" offered some strengths and weaknesses. In some cases conversations did not include all members of the group or avoided the text or topics of common interest. The talk could also persist in conflictual ways which might have precluded participants exploring in depth their own or others' perspectives. However, some phases of the study showed participants conducting problem-oriented discussion of text combining personal response and critical reading. The meetings also subsumed different forms and functions of dialogue, from school-like talk to less formal talk among peers. Overall, the club offered difficult but fertile ground both for learning in the context of conversation and for research on that conversation. (Contains 36 references.) (JB)

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ED 381 544

Conflict and Consensus in Teacher Candidates' Discussion of Ethnic Autobiography[1]

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Introduction

Last year I published a preliminary report of research on the Future Teachers' Autobiography Club (Florio-Ruane, 1994). The present article updates that research. Part One is a summary of the Autobiography Club project. In Part Two, I am joined by another member of the Club, Julie DeTar, to take a closer look at the content and dynamics of participants' conversation.

PART ONE

Susan Florio-Ruane

Revisiting the Future Teachers' Autobiography Club

The Future Teachers' Autobiography Club invited six elementary teacher candidates to read, write about and discuss ethnic autobiography. I selected the six autobiographies and hosted the Club's monthly dinner meetings. I documented the Club by writing field notes, reading and corresponding with the members in sketchbooks recording our thoughts about the books and discussions, analyzing audio tapes and transcripts of the meetings, and de-briefing each member in an interview near the end of the study.

Before discussing the autobiographies or our discussions, I want to say a bit about the Club members and how I selected them. All were university seniors finishing their studies for elementary teacher certification. They were student teaching during the Club's duration and worked with youngsters from diverse cultural, social and economic backgrounds. Although none had been my student, each was enrolled in the Learning Community, a small elementary teacher education program I directed at the time of the study. They were white female midwesterners in their early to mid-twenties. As Table One illustrates, two were from lower income small towns, two from the upper income suburbs of large cities, and two from middle income suburbs of smaller cities.[2] They resembled in age, gender, race, and socioeconomic background the teachers who dominate elementary education in the United States, despite efforts by colleges of education to recruit and retain a more diverse cohort (Zeichner, 1992; Cazden and Mehan, 1989).

/Insert Table One Here/

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Name/Pseudonym	Home Community
Nell & Misty	affluent suburbs of large cities
Peggy & Lia	lower income small towns
Marcia & Julie	middle income suburbs of small cities

Table One: Student Members of the Autobiography Club and Their Home Communities

For all their similarities, the members of the Club differed in their entering knowledge and beliefs about the role of youngsters' cultural understanding in their experience of learning and literacy in school. These differences stemmed in part from contrasts in the relative size, wealth and expectations of the communities in which the Club members lived and were educated prior to their arrival at the university. Surfacing during book-related discussions, the differences offered challenges as well as resources as the group grappled with issues of educational equity raised by the autobiographies.

Changing the Text and Context for Cultural Studies in Teacher Education

The predominance of white female teachers (and teacher educators) presents an immediate and persistent challenge to American education. Our teaching force is culturally isolated or "encapsulated" (Birrell, 1993) from many of the youngsters it serves. Moreover, white teacher candidates are often alienated from their own ethnic and cultural background and lack an opportunity to explore how this primary socialization shaped their entry into formal schooling and literacy or how it colors their thinking about people from other backgrounds. Thus it is often difficult for them to see connections among cultural identity, literate practices and youngsters' experiences of school.

Changing the Text for Teacher Learning

Autobiography blends personal narrative with history and cultural description (Stone, 1981). Currently underrepresented in the literature courses and professional studies of teacher candidates, this genre may provide a more powerful way to engage the world of another than is available in social scientific accounts of culture. Social scientific text dominates the study of culture in teacher education curriculum, yet researchers find that its tendency toward generalization about groups (Rosaldo, 1989; Pratt, 1986) increases rather diminishes teachers' inclinations to stereotype youngsters on the basis of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds (McDiarmid, 1990). Autobiography, in contrast, offers access to an individual's unique experience and also places that experience within a social group and historical period (Holte, 1988). It mobilizes language both referentially, to convey general information about a culture, and figuratively, to foster identification between reader and writer, often across considerable differences in background.

Successful teaching of ethnic- and language-minority students may depend less on a teacher's knowledge of the general characteristics of ethnic groups than on, in Zeichner's words,

> the desire and ability of the teacher to learn about the special circumstances of their own students and their communities and the ability to take this knowledge into account in their teaching (1992, p. 6).

Studying cultural narratives may encourage teachers to (1) examine the lives of persons whose backgrounds differ from their own, and (2) uncover "their own cultural identifies and...reexamine their attitudes toward and beliefs about different ethnocultural groups" (ibid, p. 20).

The autobiographies we read were of three varieties. Two were written by white teachers who, encountering ethnic- and language-minority pupils, were challenged to examine their own lives and learning through the lens of culture: Vivian Paley's White Teacher (1979/89) and Mike Rose's Lives on the Boundary (1989). Two were by immigrants who came voluntarily to the United States seeking and finding (though not without cost) security, education and economic opportunity: Eva Hoffman's Lost in Translation (1989) and Jill Ker Conway's The Road from Coorain (1989). Completing the set were two autobiographies by American-born authors fitting anthropologist John Ogbu's (1987) classification "involuntary immigrants," or people who came (or whose forbears came) to the United States as slaves or economic refugees and who are subject to "caste-like" minority status with attendant discrimination in education and employment. These books were Richard Rodriguez' Hunger of Memory (1982) and Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (1969).

Whether or not they were literally immigrants, the six authors held in common the perspective of "outsiders" engaged in passage--from home to school, from family to wider community, from motherland (or mother tongue) to a new home (or language), or from novice to experienced teacher of diverse students. Their books prompt critical examination of culture and introduce an experience of passage that members of the Club might share in virtue of their own recent passages--from adolescence to adulthood, from home town to the university. Proefriedt (1989/90) asserts in this regard that immigrant literature can be a rich source for learning critical thinking because

> the movement from one culture to another can allow the person undergoing the experience to look at the claims and assumptions of

> each culture, which might otherwise be perceived as simply "givens," in a different light. Instead of one set of beliefs and practices being offered to the person as *the* way of life, the message becomes, in the construction of the learner, "Here is one way, among others, of doing things."(p. 78)

Changing the Context for Teacher Learning

In addition to lacking a powerful literature for learning about culture, teacher education remains hamstrung by a transmission-oriented pedagogy (Denyer and Florio-Ruane, 1991). This creates an ironic situation in which teachers are instructed to use discursive and liberatory practices when working with their diverse youngsters, but are offered little in the way of models or guided practice for such teaching (Burbules, 1993). And, since the popularity of discursive teaching practices far exceeds current understanding of their social and intellectual complexities (Lensmire, 1994; O'Connor and Michaels, 1993), beginners are left to muddle through their application, taking on faith that diverse youngsters will learn simply because they are talking with one another.

In designing the Autobiography Club as an informal, non-school occasion for thoughtful talk about text, I wanted to foster as well as investigate the potential of peer discussion in teacher learning. This seemed worthwhile because, in Vivian Paley's words,

> we all have the need to explain ourselves. Teachers seldom have the chance to do so. Yet our behavior in the classroom becomes an important part of the "hidden curriculum." My story, like anyone else's story, is a morality tale. You do not share your experiences without the belief that there are lessons that have to be learned (1989, p. xv).

Moreover, by removing myself, if not from a position of influence as the group's founder and host, at least from the role of expert and evaluator, I hoped to unlock what Rosen (1988) calls the "autobiographical impulse" since, in his words,

> attentive examination of everyday discourse reveals that narrative surfaces easily and inevitably and without inhibition when the conversation is among intimates and no obvious and fateful judgments turn on the encounter (a job, jail, health, divorce). Oppressive power distorts and muffles it (1988, p. 75).

Conflict and Working Consensus

While our club may have achieved some of these laudable aims, it is apparent from my research with Julie deTar that discussing autobiography is not a benign affair. We learned that it is important to look critically not only at the books we read, but at the personal narratives offered by participants in response to these books, and also to the event of conversation. If personal stories have, as Paley suggests, the force of morality tales, then they are by definition interest-driven. We can expect people's stories to differ, even clash, as the values or interests of the tellers differ. Likewise, relieving talk from what Rosen calls "oppressive power" by no means neutralizes power as factor within the conversation that remains. As we analyzed the Club's meetings, we found that lifting the teacher's power to stage manage or assess talk still left it permeated with issues of power. However, power now seemed tied not to participants finding and matching a teacher's authoritative viewpoint, but to advancing their own beliefs and attempting to move others to share them. In a sense, when participants "told stories;" they used narrative as argument.

Argument, typically tightly contained by teachers in classroom book discussion, arose in the Club's conversation and was often, though not always, intellectually productive. Thus, while the talk remained generally polite, even jovial, it also entailed some discomfort and risk. Members displayed and reported effort to sustain cooperative talk, but disagreement surfaced both in the way people spoke (what Scollon (1988) calls the "micropolitics" of face-to-face communication) and in what they spoke about (the penetration of book talk by "macro" political issues concerning equality and education).

I did not anticipate such conversational complexity when we began the Club, and finding it leaves me less sanguine about reforming teacher education simply by encouraging peer discussion and personal narrative. These remain complicated means to not well-specified ends.[3]Yet what is promising in the research is finding that educative argument might, indeed, be stirred by autobiographical literature and teachers' responses to it.

The Inquiry Process

Research on the Club was ongoing and proceeded by means of analytic induction. As I collected and reviewed data, I entertained "working hypotheses" (Geer, 1969) about how the participants were making sense of the books and conversations. I used the method of "constant comparison" (Glaser

and Strauss, 1967), rejecting or refining early interpretations based on the examination of subsequent data. I also attempted, by means of "triangulation" (Gordon, 1980), to test inferences developed in one data source (e.g. field notes) with data from other sources (e.g. meeting transcripts, sketchbooks, and de-briefing interviews). As is characteristic of ethnographic work, the focus of the research changed and developed as the study progressed, and the analysis benefited from collaboration with Julie deTar, who was both a key informant and fellow Club member.

Preliminary Analysis and Its Limitations

I was initially struck by the cooperative nature of Club conversation. Participants offered personal narratives in response to the published ones and coordinated them with one another across turns. I formed a "working hypothesis" that this cooperative, narrative way of speaking about the books would prove to be a distinctive feature of Club discourse. This hypothesis was strengthened by finding that a similar speech style was reported in research on white women's talk in therapeutic and consciousness-raising (or "rap") groups. Kalcik's (1975) research, for example, found that participants avoided interrupting or challenging one another's ideas. And, like Club members, they offered brief personal vignettes as "kernel stories," not to "one up" other speakers, but to elaborate on their comments.

My working hypothesis was limited in several important ways. First, I developed it by looking mostly at the two data sources immediately accessible to me as the study unfolded--field notes and rough catalogues of the contents of meeting audio tapes. Thus it was not tested by "triangulation" with information from other data which would later became available (e.g. field notes from subsequent meetings, detailed transcripts of the meeting tapes, and de-briefing interviews). Second, I lacked the perspectives of other Club members, thus missing what Barbara Tedlock calls, "the co-production of ethnographic knowledge, created and represented in the only way it can be, within an interactive Self/Other dialogue" (1991, p. 82). Third, my analysis did not sufficiently contextualize talk--either temporally, within a full two-hour meeting or six month set, or ethnographically, using information about Club members' social identities or wider social and political forces in interpreting their participation.

The limitation of context seems particularly important. Aries (1976) observed, when contrasting women's speech in male, female, and mixed therapeutic groups, that

> the interpersonal styles individuals display in a group do not represent their entire repertoire of behaviors, but the style they select to meet the sex role pressure in that situation (p. 8).

If situational context matters greatly to speech style, then the talk of white middle class women in support groups such as those analyzed by Kalcik (1975) might not be predictive of the talk of women of similar background operating in different social contexts. Tied to a particular political purpose and ideology, the groups Kalcik studied stressed democratic participation and presented members with explicit conversational norms and a shared sense of "who we are and what we are doing."

The Autobiography Club lacked such an explicit ideology or system of rules for participation. It required members to negotiate a definition of situation in and through conversation in an ongoing way. Yet the Club's immediate social context bore some family resemblance to other, more familiar speech events--informal dinner conversation about books among family or friends and more formal book discussions among teachers and classmates. Thus there was reason to expect that members might negotiate implicit rules for participating in the Club drawing on communication styles appropriate to book talk in those more familiar situations. This might make their conversations and relationships to text and to one another more complex hybrids than I initially described. With this insight, I wrote in my research notes that my working hypothesis

> seems an idealization (perhaps a caricature) of what actually occurred in the group. It also seems to imply that, somehow, "women's talk" is inevitably more supportive than talk in mixed gender groups. It also raises questions about whether what we have in the Club is "merely anecdotal" response to text, or a more sophisticated reading of its themes (Analytic Memo, 9/15/93).

As I continued to analyze data, I sought to disconfirm or revise my working hypothesis. And, serendipitously, I was helped in this effort by the arrival of Julie deTar as a co-investigator.

The Research Collaboration

I sent a report of my preliminary analysis to the Club members in the summer after we disbanded. By then most had graduated and scattered to other

parts of the state and country. They responded with a cheery but distant, "thanks for keeping me posted, " as they concerned themselves with more pressing matters such as marriage, pregnancy, and finding teaching jobs. However, one former member, Julie deTar, remained at the university while she and her new husband completed additional courses. She volunteered to help my analyze the data because she found my interpretations interesting but incomplete.

While I participated in the Club's meetings, Julie reminded me that its other members were also part of a small student cohort in the Learning Community Program. As such, they brought histories and social identities negotiated over months of interactions with one another. The politics of their talk extended well beyond the dinner meetings to which I had access, and this ethnographic background was missing in my analysis. Julie believed that access to it could enrich our ability to understand the group and its dynamics.

Julie also contended that participants' apparently smooth shifting from one speaker to another and mapping of personal narratives should not be confused with easy consensus or a climate always supportive or accepting of speakers. Instead, Julie claimed that there were differences in viewpoint among the members and said that, "you had to work hard just to stay involved" in the Club's complex discussions. For her, conversation in the Autobiography Club was "more of a struggle" than I had depicted. By "struggle," Julie referred to the effort involved both in gaining access to the conversational floor and also to the difficulty of following speakers' ideas over time and in light of challenges posed by other speakers. Not everyone made the same sense of the books under discussion.

I was struck by Julie's use of the term "struggle." It is one that appears frequently in academic discussions of dialogue (see Burbules, 1993, for a summary) and can refer quite literally to different speakers seeking a voice in the conversation, and also to the multiple senses or meanings a term may carry reflective of its use. Thus the term "struggle" captures the slipperiness of ideas and the work of conversation to grasp and re-grasp with some difficulty complex meanings in and through talk. In the face of this struggle, Julie observed that participants' concern for politeness, though far from the central issue I had made it, was sensible. It was part of what Burbules calls "conversational virtues" (1993, p. x), and what Tannen (1989) calls "involvement strategies." It was a means rather than an end. Without

attention to the maintenance of norms for taking turns, conversation grinds to a halt--especially when it is voluntary, as it was in our Club.

However, if we do not look beyond the effort to keep it going, we may quickly decide that conversation is not a robust medium for the exploration of complex ideas. How an educative conversation is sustained in and through argument remains a questions for research (Lampert, Rittenhouse, and Crumbaugh, 1994). In that spirit, Julie and I decided to analyze the meeting tapes and transcripts together. We hoped to learn more about the following:(1) "*struggle*" in the Club's conversations, particularly as it relates to argument over ideas; (2) *power* within the conversations, especially as it is expressed in speakers' shifting leadership, forming coalitions to sustain topics or access to the floor, and framing or re-framing topics; and (3) what this analysis of the Autobiography Club might have to say about *learning* in the medium of peer conversation.

To pursue these questions, we obtained permission from the other participants to conduct a collaborative analysis of the meeting conversations.[4] Bi-weekly for a semester we met to listen to the audio tapes and read and annotate the transcript. Adapting the procedure of the "viewing session" developed by Erickson and Shultz (1977), we looked at ways participants organized their talk sequentially as conversation unfolded in real time (what linguists call the conversation's "syntagmatic" structure"), as well as the conversational moves that participants made at particular moments in time (or a conversation's "paradigmatic" structure).[5] Capitalizing on our "insider" and "outsider" perspectives, either of us was free to stop the audio tape to comment, and we recorded those comments in a set of analytic notes. We found that we tended to stop the tape at what Erickson and Shultz (1977) call "uncomfortable moments" or transitions between phases of the conversation. We developed an analytic description of the ebb and flow of conversation, including points of transition, transformation, and tension. We hoped by this work to learn more about how participants negotiated conflict and consensus. This collaboration challenged us both to look at our own as well as others' participation in the group and served, for me, as a turning point where I left the stance of a distanced analyst of conversation to enter the riskier place of a co-constructor of it.

PART TWO

Susan Florio-Ruane and Julie deTar

"Did you go to New Trier?" and "Why *does* the caged bird sing?"

Here we present a close look at conversation within one meeting of the Autobiography Club. It illustrates our analysis of the complex negotiation of conflict and consensus in Club conversation. Because we are unable to reproduce a full two-hour meeting here, we begin by offering an overview or map of the landscape of talk in the meeting in which we discussed Maya Angelou's book, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings. From there, we look more closely at that part of the meeting in which participants debate fairness in school funding--an issue sparked by Angelou's vignette of her graduation from the eighth grade.

The meeting occurred on January 21, 1993. In addition to Susan, the host, all six of the other members were in attendance and will be referred to in this analysis. Participants included Nell and Misty, the two members from affluent suburbs; Peggy and Lia, the two members from rural, lower income communities; and Julie and Marcia, the two members from small, middle income suburbs (see Table One). This was the Club's second monthly meeting and the first since Christmas break. Now working full-time in their student teaching sites, the members were eager to see one another after a long separation. Interest in Angelou's book was high because she had recently delivered a poem at President Clinton's inauguration, and her work and life were therefore widely reported in newspapers and on television.

Figure One is a schematic model of the phases of talk during the two-hour meeting. The meeting begins with Topic Finding and ends with Concluding. Within it, there are three phases of talk, each punctuated by Reframing (or Reframing and Repair): the first is labeled Debate, the second, Scaffolded Conversation, and the third, Joint Inquiry.

/Insert Figure One Here/

In this report we emphasize debate, reframing, and scaffolded conversation but, in order to place them in context, it is important to begin by looking at the meeting in its entirety. We view it, not as a unitary performance, but a dance-like negotiation in which participants shift topics and ways of speaking, moving back and forth from doubting to believing, from conflict to consensus.

Burbules (1993) offers a typology of dialogue in education instructive in this analysis.[6] As the adaptation of his ideas in Figure Two illustrates,

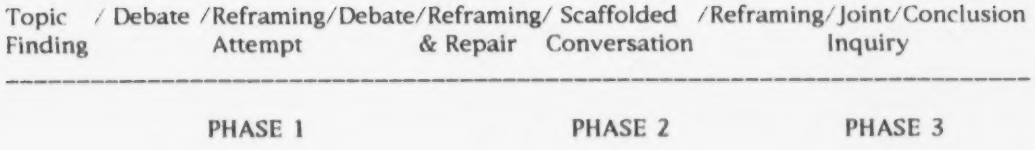
Topic Finding / Debate / Reframing Attempt / Debate / Reframing & Repair / Scaffolded Conversation / Reframing / Joint Inquiry / Conclusion
PHASE 1
PHASE 2
PHASE 3

Figure One: Model of Autobiography Club Dialogue

"dialogue" can be thought of as the super ordinate category of educational talk encompassing various types or "genres" such as debate, conversation, inquiry and instruction. These genres engage participants with knowledge and one another in different ways. Following Elbow's (1986) distinction between the "believing" and "doubting" games, Burbules asserts that dialogue may be oriented toward seeking consensus and solving problems, or it may articulate different ways of thinking about a problem where no consensus is sought or even possible. It may also be oriented toward refuting others' ideas and asserting one's own.

/Insert Figure Two Here/

Burbules does not suggest that each genre neatly connects to a particular speech event. Except in the most narrowly circumscribed and formalized talk (e.g. a debating contest, interrogation in a court of law, or the initiation-reply-evaluation sequence found in some classroom recitations) , the socially negotiated nature of norms for turn-taking and topic identification predict that within any dialogue one is likely to find (or experience) elements of more than one genre. Burbules suggests that while these genres are distinct, they fall into "regular prototypical patterns" in real dialogue and are "combined and overlapping in multiple ways" (Burbules, 1993, p. 110). Consistent with this characterization, Autobiography Club talk on this night moved between the poles of believing and doubting.

Finding a Topic

The meeting opens with talk we call, "Topic Finding." While finding a topic occurs in most conversations, it is less prolonged on formal occasions with clear agendas and designated leaders. Topic finding in the Autobiography Club is noteworthy because it offers evidence for its negotiated nature. The talk begins as participants enter Susan's home and gradually assemble their full complement in her family room. Thus topic finding commences without all members present and does not include Susan who remains in the kitchen preparing the dinner.

On this night, topic finding talk has a roaming, spontaneous quality, but quickly encircles Angelou's book and some of the issues it raises. People settle in as Susan puts the finishing touches on the meal. Various topics--loosely associated to one another--are offered by speakers, but initially no single topic or leader "takes hold." Still, the candidate topics foreshadow what is to come. They touch on the book--particularly Angelou's account of her graduation

	CONVERGENT	DIVERGENT
INCLUSIVE "BELIEVING"	INQUIRY-CONSENSUS	CONVERSATION
CRITICAL "DOUBTING"	INSTRUCTION	DEBATE

Figure Two: Types of Dialogue in Education (from Burbules, 1993)

from eighth grade in which the white superintendent announces that the Black school will get a new playground while the white school will get new books. This is a vignette which, unbeknownst to Susan, the six student members have already discussed in an educational foundations course.

While Susan remains in the kitchen, for others, the mention of this vignette leads to brief snatches of talk on associated topics such as African American students being channeled into sports, sports as a limited source of access to higher education, the movie *The Boyz in the Hood*, in which these issues come up, and the recent movie version of the life of Malcolm X. High involvement is evidenced by broad participation, with most members commenting and overlapping one another's words (Tannen, 1989).

Susan enters with the last plate of food. Everyone has now been served and is seated in a circle around the coffee table. Misty, making a move toward leadership in topic selection, returns to the topic of Maya Angelou as the members are beginning to eat. She has an extended speaking turn in which she tells the group about how she used her reading of the book and Angelou's participation in the inauguration as an occasion to teach her elementary school class about the poet. She is excited about this connection because she has erroneously understood the school where Angelou teaches to be "Lake Forest" (rather than Wake Forest) and says that this school is very near where she grew up. As the excerpt below illustrates, this excites her pupils and adds an air of immediacy to their discussion of Maya Angelou.

Misty: I'm like, at Lake forest, and that's where my friend goes to school. They're like, oh my God. And it got to the point where, I was telling Edward, they were acting like I knew her or something. At that point, I mean, I made it clear that I was just reading her book, but at that point, I didn't almost really even care why they were excited.

Susan: They were.

Misty: I was just glad they were in tune and excited.

Peggy: Misty?

Misty: Yeah.

Peggy: Where are you from?

Thus begins of the group's identification of a topic that is to concern them for the next phase of the meeting. Peggy questions Misty at some length and discovers that she comes from Winnetka, Illinois and was a student at New Trier High School. As the vignette below illustrates, this is of interest to Peggy

because New Trier is a wealthy public school profiled in a book she has been reading, Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities.*

Misty: OK. Evanston's where Northwestern University is and Evanston is ten minutes maybe even less from my, like...the high school...from my house. Its probably like New Trier High School[7]

Peggy: New Trier

Misty: Yeah. That's my high school.

Susan: Its in Savage Inequalities?

Misty: Oh, it should be, I mean, like the monetary support and the privileges that are there. Its a small college.

Peggy: And public.

Misty: Its public.

Peggy: That's what makes me so angry. I mean I can't even...oh, I'm really angry reading

Misty: Well, its just because everybody who lives there has the money to do it.

Peggy: And its really a caste system.

Nell: Its the same thing with Bloomfield Hills and Pontiac. Its all property taxes that pay for it. And the property, you know, the property in Bloomfield hills is worth a lot more.

Peggy: But that's not all and that's what actually I'm learning.

Phase One: Debating Fairness in School Finance

The exchange above is notably different initial topic finding talk. It is dominated by just two speakers--Misty and Peggy. They punctuate one another's turns, often overlapping each other. They speak of two sources of information inaccessible to the other participants: Misty's high school and Kozol's book. Their talk ushers in Phase One or what might be thought of as one "genre" within this conversation. It is a spirited and sometimes heated debate that brings Peggy into conflict with Misty and ultimately with a speaking coalition formed by Misty and Nell.

Phase One involves the sustained exploration of one topic and sees turns (and perhaps the conversational leadership to determine topic) concentrated in just a few participants. The exploration of topic occurs in a context of doubting, where speakers make assertions based on the authority either of a text (in this case Kozol's book) or their own experience. The text in common, Angelou's book, is not explicitly referenced here, but the fairness

and funding issues her graduation vignette raised are very much in the foreground of discussion.

In Phase One, the group finds its way into a debate about issues of fairness in school finance. There is a complicated mix of text-based and personal knowledge operant in the debate. But because only one member of the group has read the book referred to and because the debate centers around a community described in the book but also the home of one of the Club's members, four of the seven members present do not take active roles in the debate. The debate becomes so fixed on personal experience that participants do not appear by its end to have reached consensus or learned more than they previously knew based on re-thinking their own views or hearing what others have to say. Instead, the debate has an escalating quality in which individuals harden their views into defensive positions. In this phase of the meeting, two participants (Nell and Misty) support one point of view in a kind of speaking coalition. They extend and amplify one another's comments in response to the point of view and comments of another speaker (Peggy) with whom they play the "doubting game."

At first this dialogue has a dispassionate give and take quality. Peggy asks, and Misty offers, factual information about the Winnetka area and the New Trier High School. The talk turns personal however, when Nell, who attended an affluent private school in a Detroit suburb, offers an anecdote in which her own school was presented in a television news program in stark contrast to the impoverished Detroit schools nearby. Again the contrast is echoed by Misty who compares New Trier with the high school in Evanston, a less affluent city also near Chicago. Both Misty and Nell speak about pride in their high schools and the preparation they received for college. Their comments seem to run in parallel to Peggy's anger at what she sees as a "caste system" in which wealthier communities are able to offer their young better educations simply in virtue of their wealth and the value of their property. While not directly cited in their talk, the issue of fairness in school funding has dominated public discourse in Michigan all fall and winter with state the legislature meeting almost non-stop to find a compromise way to handle its systemic inequalities.

An exchange ensues in which Peggy, citing Kozol, presses the issue of fairness while Misty and Nell try to explain why their schools are so well endowed. In debate-like fashion, the speakers offer assertions and refutations

and seem fixed on winning. Misty and Nell argue for the fairness of a system in which affluent parents can enhance the opportunities of their children, while Peggy asserts that poorer parents actually pay taxes at as high or a higher rate but are able to raise less money for their children's education because the system is unfairly based on the value of the property or the wealth of a community.

> Misty: Well, its just because everybody who lives there has the money to do it.
>
> Peggy: And there's really a caste system.
>
> Nell: Its the same thing in Bloomfield Hills and Pontiac. Its all property taxes that pay for it. And the property, you know, the property in Bloomfield Hills is worth a lot more.
>
> Peggy: But that's not all and what I'm actually learning is this.
>
> Nell: But, see, a lot of it is.

Additionally, Peggy sees a kind of systemic unfairness that extends beyond property tax and claims that other subsidies are extended to schools, particularly in white middle and upper class communities. She cites an example from Kozol's book:

> Peggy: I mean, and they'll take, and one, a white, like high rise complex moved in and was middle class. And they said they wanted a new school, so they built them a new school while the Black people stayed at the other school. Public. This is public. And it wasn't property tax. It was just, it was more than just property tax. They were being blatantly
>
> Misty: A lot of what we have comes from parents, not necessarily from taxes, but
>
> Nell: donations
>
> Misty through clubs.
>
> Peggy: Through what?
>
> Nell: Boosters.
>
> Misty: Through clubs, like we have, we have the New Trier Club. And the New Trier Club is parents only, and its parents of the majority of athletes. And every year they have a New Trier Club brunch which is strictly donations put toward the athletes and their equipment. And that's where most of our money comes from, its from parents' donations and everything.
>
> Nell: Bloomfield Hills is the same way.

During this period, the dialogue is marked by several features. First, the other participants remain quiet while Misty, Nell, and Peggy exhibit high degrees of joint involvement. In addition, Misty and Nell speak almost in

chorus quickly completing one another's thoughts without appearing to interrupt. As the turn exchanges among Misty, Nell, and Peggy quicken, all the other participants remain silent. They do not even voice "backchannel" communication such as murmurs of assent or disagreement.

Susan makes the first move to break the debate-like pattern. She reframes the dialogue by inviting other speakers to contribute, linking this discussion to thinking about the differences between their own home communities and the places where they are student teaching as follows:

> Susan: Do you like...(to Julie)I know you went to Oakwood (pseudonym).
>
> Julie:Ummhmm.
>
> Susan: You mentioned that last time we had dinner together. That's..there's a real difference between the school where you went as a student--some other people mentioned it, too--and the school where you work. Do you notice it in things like materials or...
>
> Julie: Definitely.

This move to re-frame briefly engenders a series of echoing personal narratives. They are offered by the three participants who heretofore have not spoken: Julie, Marcia, and Lia. Each tells a brief anecdote illustrating the poverty of the schools in which they work. They deal with the lack of art teachers, gym teachers, and counselors. But, in each case, the speaker tells a resigned story of making due with insufficient resources. Peggy responds by reintroducing the issue of fairness which has only temporarily been put aside. Referring to a guidance counselor who has been described as having a case load so heavy that he can spend less than ten minutes with a child and frequently has to "bump" his appointments, she says:

> Peggy: But how could you want to stay? Like, I feel for him, too, because how can he feel, I mean, its frustrating. I would rather not do the job than have to not do it well.

To this Misty, who has to this point been at odds with Peggy, adds what appears to be her assent, addressing Peggy directly and saying:

> Misty: And it makes me so interested, Peggy, because the image you're getting is, like, I can see where it would make you so furious and it does make, like, that's the thing that's so hard for me is that we talk about this a lot, too.

This remark introduces a level of analysis beyond her own lived experience. She refers to her interest in the issue Peggy has framed as well as her attempt to see Peggy's point of view and the difficulty these conflicting views cause her.

Misty: And the thing that's so hard is, I totally don't think, like as an educator, I don't think its fair that there's that drastic a difference, but as a student and a person who grew up where I did, yeah, the competition is a little overwhelming, but the privileges, I would not trade them for the world.

Nell: See, I feel the same tug you're in.

Peggy replies, "I can understand that. And its not, and I don't mean it to sound like I'm attacking you or anything." But she continues to voice her anger. Nell re-states Misty's compromise position--that it is possible to be angered about the unfairness as a teacher but grateful for the opportunities as a student.

Nell: See, I feel that, that same, that same anger, you know, especially when we sat there in my class my sophomore year and watched this thing that this big television station had done about our school and compared it to Pontiac. And, as a teacher, I go, "this is just so insane," you know, that five miles down the road they're canceling the football team. They're canceling all the sports because they can't afford to have them. And at my school they're making them up, you know.

Peggy interjects, "I grew up in a school like that." This personal revelation changes the thrust of her position. Until now she has used Kozol's book and his analysis as the source of her claims to authoritative knowledge and challenged Nell and Misty to account for their schools and experience in personal terms. Now, however, she reveals that her own school background has been as impoverished as that which Kozol describes. Additionally, she makes it clear that she does not share her peers' experience of conflict between their "student" and "teacher" perspectives on this issue.

Peggy's assertion makes it difficult for participants to find an easy consensus. It underscores strong differences among Club members in values and identities forged in their early experiences of family and community. Here differences among Club members echo those which may be insidiously operant when, as some of the published autobiographers describe, diverse teachers and pupils meet each other on the presumed common ground of public education.

During these exchanges it is again notable that the other Club members remain silent. Peggy, Misty and Nell continue to wrestle with the difficult issues of fairness and the gaps in their own experiences due to differences in wealth. Peggy describes the poverty of her school--the higher and higher millages levied to raise money for schools and the lack of a strong real estate

base such that despite the millages, the community is forced to cancel services as basic as school buses and as important as advanced placement courses.

Nell and Misty counter with the quality of their academic preparation for college, again stressing their gratitude for the education they have received.

> Nell: And it was at that point, my first term, my freshman year in college, my dad saw my grades and went, "you sure this isn't too easy for you?" I was so prepared for college, and I look back on that and I'm thankful that I was able to go to a school like Goddard (pseudonym).

She and Misty think aloud about what would happen to that experience if some of the resources they enjoyed were shared with less affluent districts.

> Misty: At the same time, is it fair to let those other kids sit at the bottom.
>
> Nell: Let them sit at the bottom or should we all have the same thing because, really, there's not the money to bring them up here.

Their repetition of the phrase "let them sit at the bottom" heightens the sense of conflict by separating "us" and "them" and implying that wealthier districts need to decide the fate of poorer ones. This solution is also less than satisfactory because it incurs a cost to wealthy districts to "bring up" the educational experiences of poorer youngsters.

They venture another possible solution that they see as avoiding the economic and power questions: better teaching. If teachers in poorer schools taught better, students might learn better there. Nell asks, "What's so expensive about teaching someone to be prepared to write?" But Marcia, who is a good friend of Peggy's (and actually gave her Kozol's book as a Christmas gift) speaks after a long silence. She joins the argument to say, in support of Peggy's position, "Paying the teachers. Paying the teachers who will do that." Peggy follows her, and they form a coalition briefly voicing a response to the solution offered by Nell and Misty:

> Peggy: No, but they don't want to. I'll tell you, because their school isn't even set up so that learning is important because it smells. They have leaks everywhere. They have, I mean, these schools, I mean
>
> Marcia: They're unfit for
>
> Peggy: Yeah, they were unfit to even, yeah, to be in. And when the environment was so, they're so dreary and desolate. I mean, how can you expect kids to want to learn? And when basically, and this is what the mayor of Chicago said, "Well we don't wanta, it would be like giving money to these schools would be like rearranging the deck

chairs on the Titanic." And that's when I actually stopped reading because I thought, I'm getting too emotional.

Reframing and Repair

A transitional period of reframing and repair is initiated by Susan following Peggy's statement that she was too emotional to continue reading Kozol's book It is a period normalizing the conflict that emerged in Phase One. In making this transition, the group begins to re-orients its talk to Maya Angelou's book. Susan's attempt at reframing the discussion has a host-like, social etiquette function. It is a move she attempted unsuccessfully earlier in the meeting when she intervened to try to get more speakers involved and broaden the debate's content so that others (who had not read *Savage Inequalities* or come from the community under scrutiny) might have a chance to speak. But far from being taken by the participants as directive (as might, for instance, be the case if Susan were the group's teacher), the first of her gambits was only briefly successful in quelling the conflict on which three of the members are perseverating without apparent resolution. As the conflict again ensued, Susan and the other three members (Julie, Lia and Marcia) fell silent.

Only now, after substantially more heated talk does Susan's effort at reframing apparently succeed. She initiates it by making reference to an anecdote in Maya Angelou's text which is related to the theme of the preceding debate. The text is one all members can discuss, and it poses the problem under discussion in a less directly personal way, moving from debate about one member's affluent suburb and in contrast to another member's poor high school to a broader discussion of inequality and even the different expectations people hold for youngsters from more and less affluent backgrounds. Coincidentally, and unbeknownst to Susan, the vignette she cites is precisely the one the other members have already discussed in one of their courses and with which they began the evening:

Susan: I was thinking, when I was listening to this, about a scene in the book of her graduation.

Nell: Yeah, that's how this got started.

Susan: Oh, did it? Because, you know, there you have the case where she was actually very academically able.

Others: Unnhmm.

Susan: She was reading Shakespeare in elementary school, or whatever, and there were students in her school who were learning a lot, but you saw when the guy from the school board made the talk

Nell: The speech

Susan: And said they're gonna get these materials and these labs or whatever and you guys are going to get new blacktop for your basketball

Nell: Basketball courts

Susan: That, what was crushing was the expectations that other people had for them.

Lia: No hope.

Misty: Yeah, you can only do so well.

Susan: And I think about your schools that, where maybe the teaching was better. Maybe it wasn't. But you're dealing with a group of students who expect to excel and whom everybody else in the society expects to excel.

It is notable that Susan and Nell simultaneously speak the word, "basketball." Like the earlier Topic Finding talk in which, referencing the film, *Boyz in the Hood*, the tracking of Black students into athletics was critiqued, this part of Angelou's vignette taps a consensus which, perhaps because it is of no direct cost to the members, seems easy and welcome. Also, significantly, Susan re-frames the problem which anchored the debate until now, not as economic injustice or racism, but as the "crushing expectations that other people had for them." This is a troubling move for several reasons.

Until this point, the three dominant speakers have argued a very important problem in public education in Michigan and elsewhere. Their comments, in fact, voiced most of the major viewpoints of the political constituencies debating the problem in the legislature and the press. Here, however, is an instance where the debate, though powerful and expressive of the entering positions of the speakers, is also troublesome. It threatens the continuation of conversation because the three speakers are approaching an apparent impasse and, like Peggy reading Kozol's book, may become "too emotional" to continue. Further threatening the conversation and the group is the fact that their talk has effectively marginalized the rest of the members and the book they have read in common.

In making a host-like move away from conflict, however, Susan seems to sacrifice discussion of an important issue in order to restore cooperative participation in the group. Her comment deflects the group's attention from Peggy's concern and misses an opportunity to help participants stand back

from the solutions they are offering to see how they may be workable or limited. Also prevented by this move is a reflective examination of participants' entering positions and a chance to re-consider them in light of new information or at least see why and how they come into conflict with strongly held views of others. Ironically, the pressure to maintain conversation as a social (and sociable) event seems to run at odds with the group's exploring the relationship between students' primary socialization in the home and community and their experience of the public world of formal education. The dilemma posed here points up the difficulty of managing educative argument in the medium of conversation both for peers working without the direct guidance of teachers, and for teachers aiming to support and encourage learning rooted in conversation.

With Susan's re-framing, however, participation proliferates. Virtually all members offer examples of the effects of community expectations on their school experience. "Expectation" is a topic on which everyone appears able to weigh in without apparent risk of direct conflict. Much of the ensuing repair work concerns the damaging effects of adult expectations in both poor and affluent communities. It is capped by a poignant narrative told by Nell in which a high school senior in her class commits suicide because he has not achieved admission to a college of the stature expected by his parents and community. In this narrative, Nell moves to return the group to a consideration of the deeply personal consequences of being educated within communities. She hints at the danger of stereotyping more affluent students as immune to difficulty, balancing Peggy's (and Angelou's) descriptions of the difficulties students face in virtue of racism and economic hardship.

> Nell: You know, its really. They took a lot of pressure off my class. There's a lot going on, like parental pressure and societal pressure in my town got really down on the schools about, you know, only 35% of the class last year went to U of M. "We should be sending 50%." They really got down on it. And all of a sudden the parental pressure was so strong that we had, and we had a guy in my chemistry class my junior year, and I remember him talking about, "I just sent my application off to the University of Chicago or Chicago University
>
> Misty: University of Chicago.
>
> Nell: And he really wanted to get into the University of Chicago. His dad went to the University of Chicago. This was a big family thing. He got deferred. I saw him this whole year. Spring break I came back, and he wasn't there. And I said

Misty: His dad pulled him out?

Nell: And I said, what happened? and they said, I can't remember his name now, it was a foreign name, but they said, "On, didn't you hear?" And I said, "What?" and they said, "Well, he got his rejection from Chicago and *killed himself.*"[8] That it was that much pressure to go to Chicago.

In a resolution binding all the group members together as future teachers (and regardless of their social and economic backgrounds), a phase of synthesis begins which they offer and build upon one another's personal narratives about having violated community expectations by choosing to attend the state university and become elementary school teachers-- a solution which "works" regardless of whether the community from which participants come is rich or poor.

Six of the seven participants speak during the period of repair and transition offering personal or book-related commentary. Thus the group re-asserts itself *as a group*, moves from a particularly personal and heated topic to Angelou's book and some consensus about the damaging effects of expectations that do not take individual talents and motives into account, and manages to sustain a sense of coherence and politeness in the face of threats to its continuation which developed in Phase One. It is, in fact, the binding power of these narratives which originally stood out as noteworthy in Susan's field notes and initial analysis of this meeting. Yet, lacking at that time either a fuller account of the meeting conversation or insight into the conflict which preceded this phase of talk, the cooperative, narrative way of speaking evidenced here was over generalized and much of the meeting's complexity was missed.

Phase Two: Scaffolded Conversation

Phase Two, "Scaffolded Conversation," offers multiple examples of the "believing game" played in pursuit of questions about meaning. It is also punctuated by "doubting" which serves to push the believers farther along in their efforts at sense-making. It begins by Peggy speaking at the end of the transition. Rising again to lead by introducing a topic, Peggy's comments are this time more encompassing of the group and Angelou's book. She does not relinquish her earlier interest, but re-frames it in terms of Maya Angelou's experiences and writing:

Peggy: I guess my big question was, that I actually asked...there were so many things you could be angry about in here, and it was amazing, but how did she rise above this.

And the question I had asked, so, *why does the caged bird sing?* Like why does she remain, I'm thinking that means that a caged bird

Misty: Shining through, so to speak.

Peggy: Like she hangs in there and still, yeah. She keeps trudging along, kind of, thinking, why does a caged bird sing. With all this oppression and discrimination and unfairness and unjustness in the world, she keeps going. And she keeps struggling. Buy why?

In asking her question, Peggy re-states her anger and directs her interrogation to the book rather than to Misty and Nell. Misty interjects, but this time to contribute to the framing of Peggy's question, and other members speak to shed light on the difficult question posed by Peggy. These responses are offered in an additive way as the group begins to form a tentative working consensus. However, in a kind of conceptual "scaffolding," at intervals the group's comfort with this consensus is disturbed by a doubting speaker (alternately Julie, Susan, Lia and Peggy) who "ups the conceptual ante," urging the group to work harder to solve the textual problem Peggy has posed.

Julie wonders if the book is really representative of the experience of a broad range of African Americans. Susan floats the idea that Maya's "singing" was sustained by her family. Lia challenges this explanation by pointing out the ways in which Angelou's parents and grandmother seem neglectful or cold. Peggy urges that familial love is an insufficient explanation of Angelou's transcendence. Marcia suggests that it is her emerging sense of her own unique talents and poetic gifts.

Speakers prompt the group to explore candidate "answers" to Peggy's question, and they do so with reference to Angelou's text as well as with insights drawn from their own lives. In the following example, Peggy responds critically to Susan's suggestion that it was the love of Maya's grandmother that enabled her to keep going in the face of adversity. Peggy initiates a cycle of "doubting" that moves participants, not into conflict with one another, but forward in the search for an adequate interpretation.

Peggy: Well, I just don't think that's enough of an explanation. I don't, I mean I think its part of one, but I don't, its not enough for me yet, to believe that that's why she kept going. There's got to be something else to me. I believe family is enough but

Marcia: There's a lot more.

Lia: You mean she kept going because she knew she was loved? You're saying

Peggy: Yeah, well, I think that's important, but I'm just saying, I guess I'd be interested to hear what else...I mean, what was her driving force?

Marcia: I think a big part of it was that, I read just in little bits and pieces on and off throughout the book, that she felt, to me, I saw she was a woman who knew she was capable of a lot. I felt like she was aware of how brilliant she was. And I felt she knew that she could really do something. You know, maybe I'm reading into it, but I felt she had a real sense of

Susan: She had a gift?

Marcia: One, "I'm really brilliant" and two, "I can really make it out and do something really special and make a *difference* .

Lia: Bailey kept her going.

Nell: Oh, yeah.

Lia: Like that quiet kind of relationship.

This repeated doubting of the emerging consensus by various speakers is an interesting dialogic move in the Club's social context because it demonstrates how conversation can serve to move speakers to thinking about the book in ways they might not have ventured alone. This kind of move is typically undertaken in classrooms by the teacher. In the Autobiography Club conversation, it is not the host/organizer alone, but various members of the group who push the group to think harder. Thus members have an opportunity to assert influence in framing and re-framing the group's joint pursuit of meaning. The conversational work undertaken in response to this scaffolding weaves together personal response to the book (often in the form of individual vignettes) with careful reference to the author's language and imagery. Both readers' personal experiences and the text's elements are used as sources on which to base interpretations.

Gradually this discussion will be re-framed once more to a general and shared inquiry into the nature of culture and its role in shaping the experience of school. Labeled **Joint Inquiry** in our analysis, Phase Three of the meeting involves participants collectively generating questions which, for this evening, will remain unanswered. The framing and accumulation of these questions, while beyond the scope of this paper, plays a role in weaving the meetings together as participants return to them in the context of different books and different evenings.

Learning From the Autobiography Club Conversation

This analysis suggests that text-related talk without the stage management of a "teacher" offers some strengths and some weaknesses. In Phase One, we see that it is possible for conversation to evolve in ways that are neither inclusive of all participants nor oriented to the text or topic about which all members of a group share interest or relevant prior knowledge. Likewise, we see that talk can persist in conflictual ways which may preclude participants exploring in depth their own or others' perspectives and using new information to expand and extend their reasoning. We sense that, in an effort to manage conflict and lacking a clear leader or learning agenda, the group may back away from difficult and contested ideas without an opportunity to explore them safely and critically.

On the other hand, we also see, especially in Phase Two, that participants left to their own devices can, indeed, conduct problem-oriented discussion of text interweaving personal response and critical reading. Additionally, various speakers assume the power and responsibility to raise questions or challenge provisional solutions to push the talk and thinking of the group further along. There can be substantial challenging of the viewpoints aired by the speakers and the published authors, but challenge occurs in a "believing" context and as part of a search for common ground in the pursuit of answers to difficult questions. The strength of "scaffolded conversation" may be that it enables speakers to build upon and extend one another's reasoning. But, as we have seen in this case study, its weakness may be that it can avoid personal and potentially explosive issues of ideology--often those in greatest need of scrutiny in our field. How to merge argument with conversation remains a challenge.

Lastly, we see that the meeting subsumes different forms and functions of dialogue. Some seem more closely to resemble school-like talk. Others seem less formal and more closely resemble the talk of peers. Some shifts in ways of speaking seem oriented to solving structural problems such as finding a way to start a conversation with no designated leader or specified agenda. Other shifts appear to be occasioned by the need to sustain conversation as when efforts are taken to re-frame it when conflict threatens it, when speakers are left out, or when intellectual problems surface requiring the group to re-think its working consensus. These shifts suggest that participants are trimming their talk in part to work on thinking together and in part to

maintain a coherent speech event in which members feel safely involved. That is, they struggle at once with difficult concepts as well as the social demands of an unfolding situation. In short, they work to forge connections among ideas and one another. Much of the learning potential that conversation has to offer seems to emerge out of these struggles to connect. Yet much of the difficulty of learning from conversation stems from these struggles as well.

The Autobiography Club offers difficult but fertile ground both for learning in the context of conversation and for research on that conversation. Recently our colleague, Christopher Clark, brought to our attention an essay on humus published in the gardening section of the New York Times (Logan, 1994). Humus is a messy medium essential for plant growth. As such, it is of great interest to botanists and gardeners alike. But, according to the author, humus infuriates botanists who are accustomed to counting and describing elements in soil because, since its contents vary from site to site, fixing the mechanism by which it fosters plant growth is exceedingly difficult. One cannot understand how humus serves growth simply by describing and counting its molecular components because, in the author's words, "it is very possible that no two humus molecules are or have ever been alike" (Logan, 1994). The same might be said of conversation and the seemingly infinite ways it forms and functions can be woven by speakers.

If we substitute "conversation" for "humus" and think, not of plant growth but of the growth of understanding, the reporter's comment that it "is valuable not so much for the quantity of nutrients it contains but for the quality of interactions it promotes"(Logan, 1994) seems particularly apt. Conversation is a messy, indeterminate medium for growth. Educators believe it is necessary for rich and complex thinking, yet it is hard for them to handle and even harder for researchers to understand. Thus our preference for learning that is rooted in conversation quickly outstrips our understanding of the medium and finds our ordinary methods of inquiry challenged by its variety and complexity. Like the botanists, we have much more work to do.

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Footnotes

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[2]Pseudonyms are used for all Autobiography Club members except the authors of this paper.

[3]See Brophy (1993) for a discussion of problems of means and ends in constructivist pedagogies.

[4]Because this was a revision of Club members' original agreement to participate in the research, and in order to protect their privacy, we requested

their permission for Julie to collaborate only in the analysis of the meeting talk, the most "public" portion of the data.

[5]See Cazden (1988) for a more detailed explanation of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions of conversation.

[6]Burbules (1993) uses the term "dialogue" in a generic sense and specifies "conversation" as one genre of dialogue. We tend to use the term "conversation" as the generic because it is used that way in sociolinguistics and conversational analysis. However, the terms "dialogue" and "conversation" appear interchangeably in this paper, and we analyze the different "genres" appearing in one "conversation."

[7] Underlining indicates overlapping speech.

[8]Italics indicate speaker's emphasis.